

New York Tribune

First to Last—the Truth: News-Editorials—Advertisements

Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

MONDAY, JULY 24, 1922

Owned by New York Tribune Inc., a New York Corporation. Published daily, except Sundays, at 121 West 45th St., New York City. Telephone: 1000.

Subscription Rates: By mail, including postage in the United States: One Year, \$12.00; Six Months, \$7.00; Three Months, \$4.00. Single Copies, 10c.

Advertising Rates: By mail, including postage in the United States: One Year, \$12.00; Six Months, \$7.00; Three Months, \$4.00. Single Copies, 10c.

Retained at the Postoffice at New York as Second Class Mail Matter.

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Mr. Blaine's Hat

In the summer of 1890 James G. Blaine appeared at his own request before the Senate Finance Committee. The McKinley tariff bill had passed the House and was being reshaped in the Senate.

Mr. Blaine, in accordance with the traditions of that period, wore a statesman's silk hat. This he recklessly smashed on the table in the Senate Finance Committee's room, while he earnestly demonstrated that the House bill would not make a new market for a single American bushel of wheat or barrel of flour.

The Secretary's picturesque demonstration bore fruit. Mr. Aldrich introduced a series of reciprocity amendments, which were afterward attached to the McKinley bill. Mr. McKinley cordially accepted them, for he and Mr. Blaine were enlightened protectionists, who didn't lose sight of the importance of creating markets for exports as well as for guarding the home markets.

The Fordney and McCumber bills repeat the error of the original McKinley bill. Our export trade has multiplied many times since 1890. Our economic relations have become world-wide. We have undertaken to build up an American merchant marine of the first rank, intended to handle our exports overseas. We have become a creditor nation instead of a debtor nation.

But what statesman is there in Washington to-day who has Blaine's vision and courage and his ability to recognize that protection is not a mere doctrine of repression? Mr. Fordney and Mr. McCumber are victims of narrow views. It is not enough to say that every American producer must have the field to himself, regardless of the effect of such monopolization on the country. It is high time for some one to smash a hat, and to smash it hard, in the presence of Chairman McCumber and his associates.

Settling the Allied Debt

The settlement of the Allied debt, a question long taboo at most official gatherings, is once more up for discussion. So far the extremists, pro and con, have talked loud and those who demand "pay in full" and those who cry "complete cancellation" have had the floor.

Of the attitude of the Administration there is as yet no final declaration. The Wilson regime went on record in favor of complete payment on the theory that America had done her share in winning the war and had received none of the material benefits of the peace which accrued to the Allies. This point of view is now upheld by those who favor payment in full.

Advocates of cancellation claim that the Allies held the enemy at bay while we prepared in a leisurely manner to enter the fray. The sums we advanced, they say, were important elements in our participation in the war and should be counted as part of our expenses of the war rather than as loans to our allies. An excellent argument can be made for each side. But is either extreme necessarily the solution? Is there not a compromise which contains elements of justice for both sides and at the same time has the merit of practicality?

There can be little doubt that a goodly part of the sums advanced to the Allies, and to France in particular, replaced men and material which the United States might have sent. Such advances can, therefore, legitimately be recognized as war costs. It is also true that a part of the loans went for purposes other than the prosecution of the war. So far there has been no examination of the case of each particular nation with a view to determining what portion of the loans made by this country went for war expenditure and what went for other causes. The line between these two classes of expenditure would, of course, at times be dim. But there is no reason why a rough classification could not be made and a given percentage written off as war expenditure and the remainder funded as a long-term loan with interest.

During the Napoleonic wars Great Britain made advances to Austria under conditions not unlike those

during the World War. After negotiations for many years the British government received about 13 cents on the dollar. The rest was written off as part of the cost of the war. At the present time America is receiving nothing. Principal and interest remain unpaid and the entire question remains unsettled. What is needed is a solution which is at the same time just, politic and practical. Part payment and part cancellation may possibly be such a solution.

Private Ownership of Facts

When there is industrial peace Samuel Gompers, the honored head of the American Federation of Labor, talks much sense—often gives advice that might well be heeded by the members of the industrial partnership.

But let the strike drum beat and Mr. Gompers quickly says farewell to his intellectuals, and even to his common sense. He rants as if a sand-letter. Perhaps he feels that he must—that liberty of private judgment is no longer with him and that his first business, if his leadership is not to be repudiated, is to captain the radicals and outdo them in unreason.

But even in the wild days—such as he is now passing through—Mr. Gompers occasionally drops a profitable saying. For example, he remarked the other day, with respect to the coal industry, that the day of the private ownership of facts approaches an end.

We know what miners earn; but we don't know what mine operators earn. The knowledge should be equalized. We can't be judges whether wages are adequate or prices to the public are fair if access to the budgets of the coal companies is denied. The companies say they don't make much. But do they? When the Harding-Hoover commission gets to work it should investigate not only wages but profits.

The New Literacy Test

Few, if any, challenge the soundness of the idea behind the new section of the state constitution under which a literacy test for voters is established.

A man or woman who is not able to speak and read the country's vernacular can't make the contacts or acquire the information essential to intelligent judgment concerning public affairs.

The weakness of the new law is the difficulty of securing its impartial administration. The test is the ability to construe a part of the state's constitution. The Secretary of State has selected a hundred extracts and will transmit them to the registration boards. New voters, whether native or naturalized, are to be asked to show they understand at least one of them.

But the responsibility of giving judgment is on the registration boards. They are to say, in each particular case, whether a name is to go on the voting list. The opportunity to discriminate is patent. Appeal from a ruling is cumbersome and impracticable. In a vast majority of cases a board's say-so will be final.

In some states with similar laws registration boards grossly abuse their authority. A colored Republican may have Marshall's knowledge of the Constitution and yet be excluded, whereas a white Democrat, though abysmally ignorant, gets by as a matter of routine. In New York will Tammany boards be impartial? Or will they stretch points in favor of voters they believe they can control against those they fear they cannot? It would perhaps be better, so far as concerns naturalized citizens, to change the naturalization laws so that a certificate of naturalization shall be *prima facie* evidence of ability to read and write English. Both the public and the voter are entitled to the protection of a tribunal not acting with the haste or the partisanship of a registration board.

"Flying Cops"

The zeal of the Police Department in seeking to prevent violations of the statute forbidding airplanes to fly at less than 5,000 feet over New York City is highly commendable. At least one plane a day may be seen over Manhattan, and it is quite obvious even to the casual observer that it is flying at only 3,427 feet, or perhaps at only 2,975 feet.

This is a state of affairs that demands prompt action. A large and powerful fleet of airplanes, each one appropriately named after a prominent city official, should at once be equipped with machine-guns and anti-aircraft guns should be stationed on all the landmarks of the city. "Flying cops" should be equipped with spirit levels and instructions given to all members of the city's traffic squad to keep one eye peeled on the 5,000-foot level at all times.

What the people of the city really want is not the application of the letter of this statute, but effective prevention of danger from foolhardy "stunts" by thoughtless aviators. Flying across the city on legitimate business need not necessarily be limited to such a great altitude as 5,000 feet. Only such height is necessary as will enable the machine to volplane to a landing place in case of engine trouble.

But "stunt" flying, and more espe-

cially "stunt" flying at a low altitude over parks, baseball grounds and other crowded places, should be entirely prohibited. The best way to do this is at the airdromes. Flying licenses should be revocable in case of offenses against this statute just as driving licenses may be withdrawn for reckless driving. Airplanes are not yet so many in the neighborhood of New York as to make it impossible to identify the owner or operator of a given plane guilty of reckless flying, without recourse to a fleet of flying police craft. One or two pursuit planes might be useful, so that violators reported from the ground but not identified might be followed to their landing fields. A few "stunt" flyers arrested for their foolhardiness would soon eliminate the danger from these sources.

An Absentee Candidate

Having discussed "progressive policies" with a little group of up-state politicians, herded into his presence by William J. Connors, Mr. Hearst now plans to retire to his lonely peak in the Coast Range of California, where he will await the summons that calls him to high office in New York.

Just what the high office is the editor will not be particular, so long as it will be a stepping stone to the Presidency.

Time was, when Mr. Hearst was running for office, that he remained on the job and did himself the work of creating sentiment which he now proposes to intrust to the hands of Mr. Connors and others.

But first-hand candidacy is often embarrassing, especially when the candidate is possessed of large wealth and when election workers cannot understand why it should not be lavished generously on expenses.

Since publicity has become organized it has become expensive. One of the raw materials of its manufacture must bear on paper or on silver or gold the imprint of the United States of America.

Far easier to sit on a mountain top, contemplating herds of white-faced Hereford cattle, and let Mr. Connors do the worrying about the expense of a campaign, than to keep within telephone call of importuning politicians.

The aerial mail, the telegraph, the long-distance telephone, or even the radio, can bring the call of the people when it is sounded, if at all. Meanwhile a candidate can enjoy all the delights to be found on a vast estate in the clear, bracing Pacific air, and congratulate himself that others must do the campaigning and bear the costs incident to it.

The Cost of Strikes

Figures compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board estimate that the 1,250,000 American wage workers now on strike lose the income of 10,000,000 or more hours a day.

Counting wages as low as 30 cents an hour, here is a loss to wage workers of \$3,000,000 a day. The wage worker's product is most perishable. It passes with the ticking of the clock. A snowflake on a river has a less evanescent life.

Then there are the indirect losses. There is a diminished supply of some commodity or service which brings a rise in prices. This rise affects the whole supply of the commodity or service. The country's normal consumption of bituminous coal approximates 10,000,000 tons a week, and \$2 more a ton means a weekly addition of \$20,000,000 to the cost of other things. Even greater additions to prices come from disorganized industry, as one falling brick pushes down its neighbor.

In an economic way war is about as hard on the victor as on the vanquished. Neither side wins or can win. Even more strikingly is there this dual loss in industrial war. Any settlement within reason is better than conflict, and wage workers, constituting the majority of our population, are hit the hardest by disturbance. If there is one mundane thing which labor should make a god of and worship it is arbitration. Labor unionists will yet see that even faulty resorts to it are better than nothing, and instead of criticizing will passionately defend such agencies as the Railroad Labor Board.

Hands Across the Isthmus

It seems to have become a settled practice to send Secretaries of State to express to the South American republics the good will of the United States.

Elihu Root was the first to undertake such a mission. President Wilson dispatched Secretary Colby on the same friendly errand. Now Secretary Hughes is to assure Brazil and the Argentine and perhaps other nations of the distinguished consideration of their big sister of the North.

The two continents of the Western Hemisphere have much in common. Both are 100 per cent republican in their governments—not excepting Canada, whose people conduct the affairs of their dominion with little more than theoretical assistance from across the water.

Mutual acquaintance makes for mutual understanding. While we are further away from South America than we are from Europe in point of time, the day will come

when the distance will be bridged by rail and commerce will be given a freer flow.

It is a wise practice to send the members of the Cabinet to meet and talk with the rulers of the South American nations, to plan together for the future and to promote an understanding that will be highly profitable all round.

Secretary Hughes is singularly clear-sighted and possessed of an observing and analytical mind. His visit cannot fail to be productive of great good.

More Truth Than Poetry

By James J. Montague

As to the Ant
In reading ancient pages
We frequently have found
The views of so-called sages
Were morally unground.
Devoid of inspiration,
More mischief-making cant,
Is that old exhortation
To emulate the ant.

This bug, in legion numbers,
Creeps forth to put to rout
Our necessary slumbers
When we are camping out.
Upon our inmost clothing
He ventures to intrude;
We look on him with loathing
Partaking of our food.

The many-footed sinner
Culls not his meals from
flowers,
But when he wants a dinner
He helps himself to ours.
By conscience unimpeded,
Of decency bereft,
The man who does as he did
Would go to jail for theft.

To follow his example,
And steal all one can eat,
Would merely be to trample
The law beneath one's feet.
No good example is he—
No theme for copy books—
Of course the wretch is busy,
But so are thieves and crooks!

Desirable Quality

Fords use little gas, which is the only argument we know in favor of running Uncle Henry for the Senate again.

More Mellifluous

The radio is a device through which one can hear a phonograph record with the squeak eliminated.

And Most Frequent

We learn that sun spots cause many diseases. One of the worst of them is freckles.

(Copyright by James J. Montague.)

Good Americanization

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I have just read the quotation from "Il Popolo" on "Americanization, Good and Bad." It set me to wondering just where this "bad Americanization" is taking place. Surely, if there is any organization carrying it on, that organization should be suppressed. But the Americanization that we are trying to do in Connecticut is exactly the sort that this writer calls good Americanization. It is not prompted by any fear of the immigrant, but we desire to show kindness and good will and helpfulness toward him.

Before attempting any line of work we call in the leaders of the different races and consult with them as to what should be done. We place the emphasis just where this writer does, upon the learning of English and those things that will fit one for his life in America. We make no attempt to suppress the racial-language papers or books, to discourage people from keeping up their Old World language in their homes or churches or to interfere with the customs that ages have endeared to them.

I doubt if any other personality has so strongly impressed Americanization workers in this state as that of Edward Steiner, and every one knows that the key to all he says and writes is sympathy, kindness and good will. The Americanization workers with whom I associate most closely use every opportunity to discourage race and religious prejudice and to encourage people of all races to live together as good friends and neighbors should, each learning from the other and trying to appreciate the best traits in all races.

If there is any organization trying to Americanize by harshness, domination and oppressive laws surely that sort of Americanization is nothing but a nuisance and does more harm than good. But I hope such statements as this quotation will not carry the impression that that is the kind that is most common in these days when a great and sincere endeavor to do good happened to be christened with the large and awkward word "Americanization."

ERNEST C. CARPENTER,
Executive Secretary of the Americanization Committee of New Haven.

New Haven, Conn., July 22, 1922.

Dr. Hochfelder's Plan

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I suppose a mere man has no right to enter into discussion as to Anna W. Hochfelder's plans for his matrimonial credentials. She proposes that a prospective husband must before obtaining a license be required to establish that he is mentally and physically able by virtue of trade, occupation or profession to support a wife and has been able to do so for three months prior to such application. Why does she not call her measure "an act for the protection of imbecile women"? Surely a woman who marries expecting to be supported by a husband would be an idiot not to know whether he could support her or not.

As to the health question, it is eugenics in disguise, and if it is wise for the state to interfere it must do so as regards the prospective wife as well.

We have had paternalism, maternalism and now we are to have ante-natalism. The state is supreme and the individual ceases to exist. Laws, laws, laws—nothing but laws!
HORACE V. JEWETT,
Brooklyn, N. Y., July 20, 1922.

The Tower

DISCOVERY

MEN built a house for God of barren stone,
And carved His altar from their own design,
And where, like angels thronging 'round the Throne,
Through incense clouds the pallid candles shine,
I knelt to pray and watched them blink and flare,
And spoke to Him, yet did not find Him there.

I saw the stately, white-robed priests perform
Their austere offices; I heard their speech
Arouse in harmony the organ's storm;
I felt its tide, like breakers on a beach,
Roll over me. I dared my eyes to raise,
And met a marble saint's unseeing gaze.

Men built a house for God. I sought for Him
And, seeking, left the gleaming chancel bars
To find the hemlock aisles with twilight dim,
And fireflies soaring up to light the stars.

The treetops stood, unstirred, against the sky—
Perhaps it was the wind that passed me by.
No censers spread its incense, but the smell
Of balsam floated on the evening air;

No choir hailed Him, but the vesper bell
A wood thrush tolled to call the world to prayer.
And in His hilltops, altar-clothed with mist,
The sunlight dreamed, a golden Eucharist.

The current prices of summer suits might cheer us up more if we could stop thinking what the tailor who fashioned ours two months ago must have made off us.

Years ago we reluctantly jettisoned the dream that some day we would be rich. We hated to see it go. It had been with us ever since we had decided that our talents probably would be wasted as a locomotive engineer. Now it, too, has gone, but we still retain a modified ideal toward which to work.

We'll never be wealthy enough to get any more publicity out of giving nickel tips than that usually attendant upon assault and battery cases, but we still dream that some day we'll get far enough ahead of the game to be able to buy our winter suits in February and our summer habiliments in August.

THE LAZY AND EXOTIC EAST

WANTED—An American, 23 to 30 years old, who talks Tagalog and knows how to handle men and who can get out to work at 4:30 in the morning and work 10 hours a day, with 2 days' vacation a month, may find a good position by answering this ad. Moderate salary with substantial periodical increases to the right man. Write, stating present position, if any, and experience during past five years to "Hustler," Bulletin.—Manila, P. I., Bulletin.

Dry agents are becoming so skilled in make-up that some of them are actually going around disguised as dry agents.

We can't indorse too highly the descriptive powers of the press which always terms the alcoholic fluids confiscated these days "alleged whisky."

In the N. Y. S. & W. Meier
So you think
Because you travel on the Susquehanna
You've gotta right
To throw gods of sarcasm
At that there road.

Well, say
You won't mind it
After the first fifty years or so.
Even when you come from Freakness.
Say . . .
Was you aboard Number 936
Yesterday.

When she give a wiggle or two
An' died on the meeders?
We felt like the strike had struck,
An' some of the men,
Who read "System,"
They got out and walked.

Maybe they thought they'd get the train ahead.
Maybe they did it because some other poor fish got out.
The mosquitoes
Did their best
To jazz up things for the rest
Of us poor guys;

But, anyway . . .
That there old engine
That they used to run on a freight in 1876,
She gave a cough,
She gave a squeal,
An', say . . .
You oughta seen the way
Those commuters hopped back on.

Wasn't that the grand and glorious feeling?
And that old train, she started to go Backwards.
MAYWOOD.

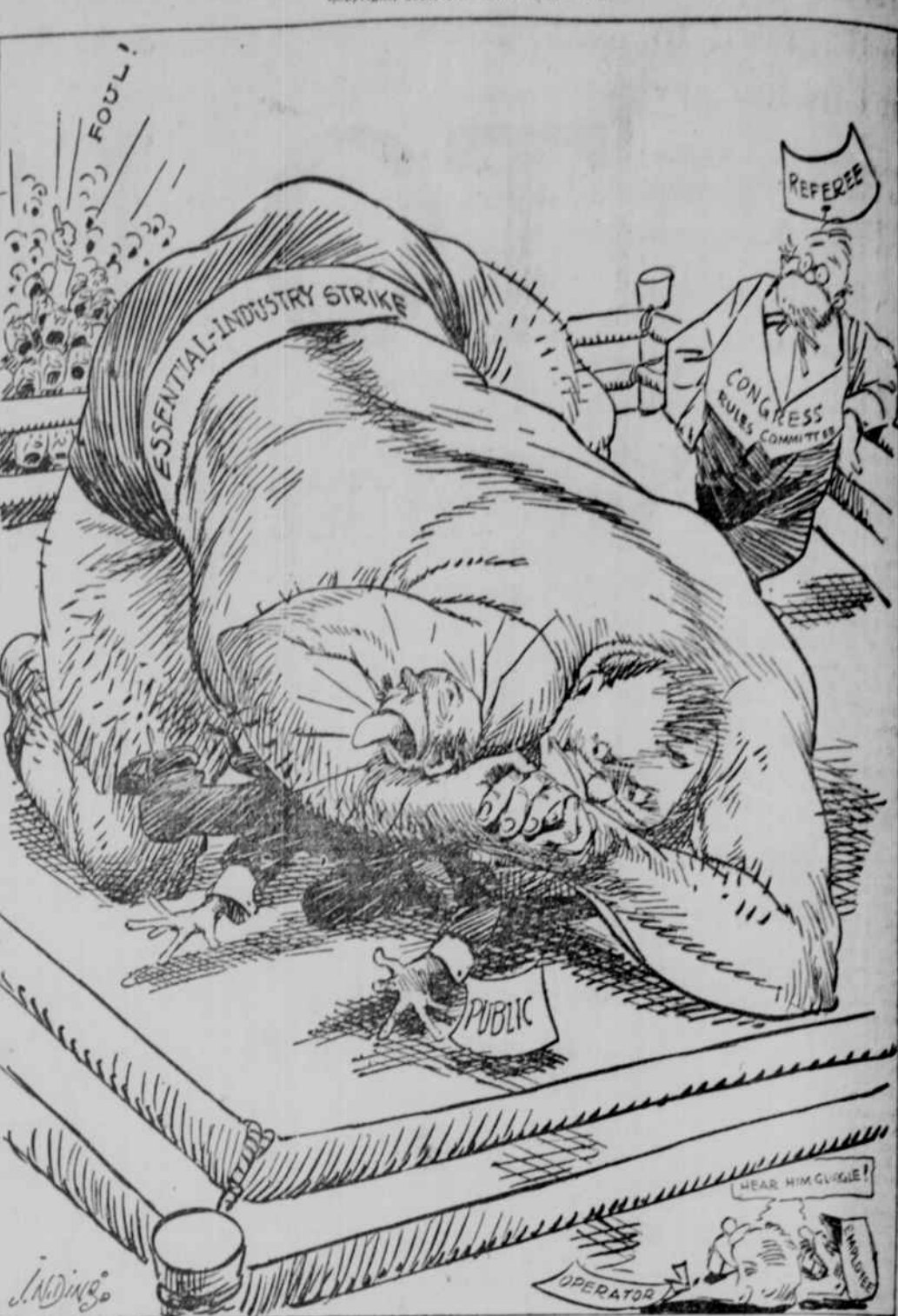
All this fuss about the brevity of bathing suits demonstrates that humanity considers the exposure of the sometimes human female form indecent unless viewed from a \$5 musical comedy seat.

Monetary considerations play a large part in the American ideal of censorship. The efforts of the expurgators of the films are directed toward preventing the public from seeing for a quarter what it can pretty nearly always view for \$3.25 or whatever the theater ticket speculators choose to charge.

Thirty-three states of the Union are to hold "No More War" demonstrations. We subscribe heartily to this movement. There are enough going on already.
F. F. V.

THE ONLY PLACE WHERE THE "STRANGLE HOLD" IS STILL ALLOWED

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No Baltic Bolshevism

By Marie Cecile Chomel

WARSAW, July 3 (By Mail).—It so happened that my arrival in Poland followed closely on the Bolshevik invasion that spread almost incredible destruction over the vast eastern plains and wiped out towns and farm communities as completely as a slate is cleansed with a sponge.

Before the Russian hordes crossed the border there had existed a considerable sentiment for communism among the Baltic peoples, particularly the peasant class, which had been the worst sufferer from the persecution of the German Baltic barons as well as Russian tyranny.

To-day these people are wholly cured of Bolshevik tendencies. If any Communist sympathizer in America doubts this fact, he has only to make a tour of Baltic and central Europe to obtain convincing evidence that communism has been tried and found wanting. The peasants now find it difficult to express their sentiments in terms of condemnation sufficiently strong.

In Poland

Here in Poland the agricultural population was inclined to listen to Bolshevik propaganda—until Communists invaded the country. It required a very short trial of Bolshevik methods to induce the peasants to join forces with the Polish soldiers to eject the invaders. But before that was accomplished the Russians had brought about a destruction so vast and terrible as to leave the population of eastern Poland dazed.

Estates were wrecked and the houses burned. I have been in dozens of beautiful old country houses, where, inside the blackened stone walls, were disclosed great piles of books, musical instruments, paintings and tapestries, all partly burned in the orgy of wanton destruction that accompanied the Bolshevik terror.

Then they went to the peasants and said: "Give us your food." Growing

crops, almost ready for the harvest, were killed in the fields.

"What has the government done for you? What is America doing for you?" demanded the Bolsheviks tauntingly. "America is feeding our children. What are the Bolsheviks doing for us?" cried the peasants furiously, looking at their burned homes and their dead fields.

Disillusion

I often wish that our American Bolsheviks might have seen that scene of destruction as I saw it—that they might have experienced the same scorn and bitter anger on the part of the farm population against any form of Communist doctrine. Disillusion has been complete, not only here in eastern Poland, but in all of the neighbor countries.

Hunger is a powerful eye-opener. So long as the peasants had food and were able to look upon the pleasant scene of growing crops that promised a sufficiency for the winter, the insidious Bolshevik doctrines took root. But when almost in a day they found themselves homeless and foodless—ah, then they changed their tune—radicalism died a sudden death.

It was due solely to the instant action of the American Relief in rushing huge food supplies from its warehouses to the devastated country that the peasant population was saved from death by starvation following the coming of the Bolsheviks. They were fed in American kitchens set up over night and manned by the American personnel. I saw one young girl from Cleveland who was feeding 5,000 in her kitchen.

From the owner of a magnificent home in Riga I heard the story of the Latvian repudiation of communism after the population had gone through a period of terror and torture. Here the scenes of destruction were repeated. This aged, white-haired woman told me how the terrorists had taken

possession of her beautiful home and looted it of its riches. She showed me her empty linen closets, and opening the doors of the silver cupboard revealed its barrenness. The lovely home remained, practically as empty shell. On every hand one heard tales of the sufferings of the people during the short Bolshevik regime, until the Latvians, tiring of their slavery, organized and drove out the Communists and set up a republican form of government.

In Latvia I traveled from border to border, talking with numerous peasants, and not one but was strong in his determination to fight Communist propaganda.

A Lesson Learned

In Raval, Esthonia, the same story. Here Esthonians who had been detained in Russia since the beginning of the war were coming home at the rate of hundreds daily, and the burden of their conversation as they were reunited with families and friends was utter condemnation of communism. They had suffered too severely. Get hungry, ragged, they wanted nothing but a chance to start life again under a peaceful government.

In Lithuania Communist propaganda had fallen on barren soil. The Lithuanians are a purely agricultural people, 95 per cent living on the soil, and none who own their own land are not susceptible to radical doctrines to the same extent as industrial workers.

It must not be supposed that efforts at propaganda have ceased. On the contrary, the Soviet is making desperate efforts to plant the seed of its discontent in all these countries. Never a day that I did not see the brilliant scarlet cars of the Soviets from the Russian missions in the different countries, bright, sleek and well turned out, speeding through the narrow, twisty streets. "Where do they get the money?" was the question everybody was asking.

What Readers Are Thinking

Quoting Montesquieu

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: I wonder if an excerpt from Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws" will strike your readers as forcibly as it did me. When we are looking about for the answer to the question, "What is the matter with America to-day?" I wonder if the following is what we are looking for:

"1. The corruption of government generally begins with that of the principles."
"2. The principle of democracy is corrupted not only when the spirit of equality is extinct, but likewise when they fall into a spirit of extreme equality, and when each citizen would fall be upon a level with those whom he has chosen to command him. Then the people, incapable of bearing the very power they have delegated, want to manage everything themselves, to delegate for the Senate, to execute for the magistrates and to decide for the judges."

"When this is the case virtue can no longer subsist in the republic. The people are desirous of exercising the functions of magistrates, who cease to be revered. The deliberations of the Senate are slighted; all respect is then laid aside for the Senators, and consequently for old age. If there is no more respect for

old age there will be none presently for parents; deference to husbands will likewise be thrown off, and submission to masters. This license will soon become general and the trouble of command be as fatiguing as the trouble of obedience. Wives, children, slaves will shake off subjection. No longer will there be any such thing as manners, order or virtue."

Is that what ails us? Extreme equality? OLD IRRITABILITY.
Bridgeport, Conn., July 21, 1922.

Montenegrin-Serbian Union

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: In a recent issue of The Tribune appeared a letter by the brother of a Serbian official in Montenegro on the union of that country with Serbia. He stated that it was done by the practically unanimous vote of the Montenegrin people.

My opinion on the subject would be of little value as I know no Montenegrins nor have I ever been in the country. I would like, however, to call the attention of your correspondent to two facts, which are not matters of opinion:

(1) The British government has always refused to make public the report of the Count de Sails on the methods whereby Montenegro was annexed to Serbia. In reply to questions concern-

ing it asked in the House of Commons the government has said that the reason for the suppression of the report is that its publication would be "an unfriendly act."

(2) Last year the Canadian Red Cross attempted some relief work in Montenegro, but was forbidden by the Serbian government to enter the country.

I have no comments to make on the facts. Readers can draw their own conclusions. MARGARET HOWARD.
Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y., July 19, 1922.

Foreign Books for Sea View

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: We have at Sea View Hospital a great many foreign-born patients who cannot read English. In the case of tuberculosis there are many, many hours in which reading may